1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the public cult of the *obwai* or tutelary genius (Hausa *dodo*), how seems to represent generally the plurality of ancestral spirits and particularly the spirit of the ancestor of the clan or kindred. The people have no clear ideas on the subject, which is not surprising, as the *obwai* cult was found in many instances to have been an importation from neighbouring tribes or to have been derived from the Aku clan, whose *obwai* take precedence of all the others. It is noticeable that the *obwai* hut is the only round hut in the village. It can accommodate thirty or forty people, and is provided with mud benches. It is often surmounted with a piece of pottery resembling a crown. The doorway is protected by a curtain of palm fronds, and no initiate may enter the hut at any time other than on the occasion of a festival. The cult is in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*, and plays a considerable part in the social and religious life of the people. It partakes of the nature of a secret society and is used largely as a means of discipline for women and children. The *obwai* is not seen, but his voice is heard, and every two years his representative appears publicly in his costume of grass, dancing round and striking with his cane anyone he comes across. (It is said that he will strike a woman who is going to bear a male child, but will not touch a woman who is going to bear a female.)

As a social factor the *obwai* is not unimportant. If a theft is committed in the village the shrill voice of the *obwai* is heard, and he has to be provided with beer in order that the sin may be purged. The *obwai* may at night be heard striking the wall of a house where an ill-natured wife has been giving trouble to her husband, warning her to desist. I was informed by an *Agwam obwai* that the representations to him of a mere bully of a husband would not be received; he would be told he was a liar and sent about his business. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, as the cult is in the hands of men, and the *Agwam obwai* receives a benefit when his services are required, the cult must be used more in the interests of the male than of the female sex.

Among the neighbouring Kaje tribe every two to three years the *obwai* compels every woman to wear (from July until the *obwai* festival in February) a string necklace as a guarantee that she will not abandon her husband during that period, i.e. the Kaje seek by religious means to put some check on the social evil of excessive sub-marriages. She is required to wear this necklace

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794 626 582 continually, and to produce it at the spring festival tied round the pot containing her offering of beer. If she cannot produce it she is fined. If she runs off to another husband during that period, her relatives, who of course live in some other town, are fined. It might appear that the *obwai* of one town had no power of levying fines on members of another town, but as there is a reciprocal arrangement between the towns there is no difficulty in collecting the fines. The practice is not purely selfish, but is directed towards the common good, for in addition to prohibiting one's own wives from running away it also prohibits parents during this period from allowing their married daughters to contract a sub-marriage. A parent of town A who during these six months receives a bride-price from a man in town B for a married daughter who lives in town C is fined by the *obwai*.

794 796 241 The *obwai* is not, however, merely a village policeman. He is the centre of the festivals which begin and end the agricultural year. The main *obwai* festival is that which introduces farming operations just before the first rains. The whole community brings to the *obwai* hut offerings of beer, beniseed, goats, chickens, and porridge. The senior men pour the beer into the common pot in the *obwai* house, leaving a portion for the women and the younger people, who partake outside. The *Agwam obwai* then drinks a little of the beer from the pot, and asks the *obwai* to secure for them a successful farming season. A general feast ensues, the senior males being inside the *obwai* house, and the women and younger males being outside in the vicinity under a large tree. Dancing begins, and the voice of the *obwai* is heard. (He speaks, concealed in the roof, in a voice disguised by the use of a wooden tube covered with spider's egg capsule.) He breaks into a song, addressing, it would seem, his living representative the *Agwam obwai*: "Kiachang a chira" ("Have you taken aught from anyone by force?"). The *Agwam obwai* replies "E" ("No, I have not"). The *obwai* continues: "Gado ze yai kiang nia cheda" ("No one can take aught by force—he can only give it willingly"). The *Agwam obwai* replies (singing, and all outside taking up the refrain): "Ei ee" ("Yes, that is true"). The *obwai* continues: "Lung yungwav" ("Fire has devoured the town"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Salio bang ayawat" ("But nothing can part brethren save death only"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "A biang sang okwon" (indecent). Refrain:

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"Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Na mi kiang a zangat se zangat (indecent). Refrain: "Ei, ee."

The indecency of the songs sung at the public festivals is in striking contrast to the rules of decorum which govern the ordinary private life. This is not characteristic of the Katab, but may be said to be general of all Negro society. To brothers-in-law, for example, any jokes about sexual intercourse would, in the ordinary course, be taboo and wholly impossible. A man will bow down in humble subjection to his parents-in-law and avoid them on all possible occasions. But on the occasion of public festivals all the ordinary rules of private life are waived, and there is a saturnalia which permits a father-in-law to dance round in the same circle as his daughter-in-law, singing songs referring in the main to sexual matters. It is repugnant to any native to repeat in cold blood the words of these songs to a European, and it would be equally repugnant to him to use them at any other time than on the occasion of the public festival when, as of old among the Romans, free expression is given to the pent-up feelings. (In this connection we may instance cases where during public festivals, e.g. among the Gwari, it is permissible to abuse the Chief without fear of retaliation for all actions during the year which were regarded as unjust and tyrannical.) An *obwai* festival is also held at harvest, and a month before the feast his voice is heard warning the people to make preparations and desist from idle disputes.

There are among the Katab no elaborate rites of initiation into the cult of *obwai*. Children are taken to his hut at an early age (4–8), warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony is concluded by a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. It may be of interest to mention here the part that the *obwai* plays among the neighbouring Jaba tribe in the matter of initiation. These initiation rites among the Jaba have no connection with circumcision. They are performed when the lad is between 9 and 11 years of age. Among the Jaba, the *obwai* is known as the *Ku*[1] and the initiation rites are known as *woroku*. A noteworthy feature is that the lad is initiated not by his father, but by his maternal uncle. The father has no say in the matter. The lad goes to his maternal uncle's house, and the uncle provides the preliminary fee of one chicken. He

[1] This is a Jukun and apparently also an Ancient Egyptian term. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 263.

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escorts his nephew to the house of the *Ku* which he, with the other candidates for initiation, is required to enter blindfolded. They are all promptly beaten by the attendants of the representative of the *Ku*. (The maternal uncle may take some of the lashes himself to save his nephew.) The bandages are removed, and the priest addresses the boys, saying: "Do you see who I am?" They say "Yes". "Well," says the priest, "you know that the women and children believe that our dead fathers reside here. Do you see any signs of them?" The lads say "No". The priest thereupon warns them that if they ever disclose the make-believe character of the rites they will meet with instant death. They are further warned that if they steal, or despise their parents, they will certainly be punished. (Fathers report unruly sons to the *Ku*, and they are severely handled at the first ensuing festival which all must attend.) But above all they must never disclose to a woman the secret of the *Ku*. The boys are kept there for five days, and if they behave with decorum receive no further thrashings. But if a boy succeeded in making his escape to his village, he would be speedily captured, and he and all the other boys, it is said, would be put to death as a proof that the *Ku* had swallowed them! Enormous quantities of food have to be consumed by the boys during these days. The food is provided by the women, and the boys must eat it, for the *Ku* is supposed to have an insatiable appetite. At the end of five days they are taken out to the bush during the night and bathed in white mud and shaved in patchy fashion to give them the appearance of having been vomited up by the *Ku*. They then return to the village and are welcomed by their mothers and anointed with oil to clean off the white mud. They beat all girls with whom they used to play, for they have now become manly and children of the *Ku*. They are then required to engage in hunting animals in the bush and to spend a further five nights in the hut of the *Ku*. All animals killed become the perquisite of the priest and his followers. On the conclusion of this period they return finally to the village, but from that day onwards associate only with themselves and their senior male relatives. Hitherto they were women. Now they have become men. Their women relatives treat them with especial favour, provide them abundantly with food, but the lads address no word to their mothers, aunts, or sisters. All conversation with women

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is strictly taboo. This taboo is kept up for three months, and to mark its conclusion all the lads must go to the farm of the priest and do one day's work. The priest then gives permission to the lads to speak to women, reminding them of the consequence of revealing the common secret. The women prepare a feast and pray the boys that they may once again hear them speak. It is clear that these rites symbolize a process of death and rebirth. The three months' silence is a portrayal of the early years of children who have not yet learned to speak. They are a precaution also against the revelation of the mysteries to women. Anyone subsequently blurting out the truth was taken to the *Ku* house and tried. If he was proved guilty, his father took ashes and rubbed them on the boy's head (the symbol of mourning). The boy was then impaled on a sharpened stake, all the initiates outside dancing and singing to drown the screams of the victim. The women were told that the *Ku* had swallowed the boy.

These inhuman practices cannot, of course, be carried out nowadays. The imposition of fines in lieu of capital punishment is apparently insufficient to maintain the secrecy of the rites; otherwise the above details would not have been obtained.

We have seen that the *obwai* rites are of considerable social importance, and to the uninitiated involve also the religious belief that the dead are in close association with the living. But these religious beliefs are shattered at initiation, for the boys learn for the first time that the dead do not assemble in the *obwai* house, and that the mysterious voice of the *obwai* is produced by a purely mechanical process. In spite of this, the initiates do not apparently regard the whole thing as a fraud; for a part only of the mysteries is revealed and the initiates still continue to believe that the *Agwam obwai* is in some vague way a go-between between the living and the dead. It is right, therefore, that the punishment of social offences, whether committed by the initiated or uninitiated, should be in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*.

Rain-making.—It would appear that the rain-making rites also are intimately associated with the ancestors. Each kindred has its rain-maker, and though he may perform the rites on some sacred stone or other material object and address his prayers to the Lord of Heaven (Gwaza), at the back of his mind

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Chief's ward kill a leopard they bring the corpse to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." Leaving the corpse on the rock, they run back home, for if they were caught by the Madaki men they would be charged with having murdered one of their number. The corpse is then taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men who skin it, using their nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by the grown-up men, young lads receiving merely some of the juice. The skin is thrown out and is appropriated later by those who had killed the leopard. All the members of Madaki's ward are believed to have the power of turning into leopards. Indeed, all the Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals. It is said that there is a female society which exists for this purpose. The senior members prepare all corpses (male and female) for burial, and during the burial-rites parents hand over their daughters to be initiated into the wer-animal rites. These rites are carried out in the sacred grove where, incidentally, all snakes and fish in the river are respected, for they are believed to embody the souls of human beings.

The interesting rites by which Jaba boys are initiated into the mystery of the *ku* have already been fully described (see page 65).

The Jaba appear to have been worshippers of the Sun.

JABA (Kwoi dialect, per Garuba)

1. Head	ritsi	rɪtsi
2. Hair	khi	xi
2. Hair	xi	khi
3. Eye	su	su
Two eyes	suko fani	sukɔ fani
4. Ear	zanto	zantõ
Two ears	zantõ ka fani	zantõ kɔ fani
5. Nose	fwik (i.e. bilabial f)	ʀwɪk (i.e. bilabial f)
6. One tooth	izhi wo zini	ɪʒi wo zɪni
Five teeth	izhi yuto	ɪʒi juto (the t is palatalized)
7. Tongue	lem	lɛm
8. Neck	tõ	tõ
9. Breast (woman's)	imbã	ɪmbã
10. Heart	chu	tʃu
11. Belly	hwiya	hwija

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595 never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

582 (*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

587 (*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

794 Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

721 [554] Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[a]

Occupations: Division of Labour

433 462 Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by males,[b] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees(in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood-carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

[a] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[b] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

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the same way for the death of her brother's wife, retiring to her brother's village for the prescribed period.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Among the Katab, the "high god" is called Gwaza and, according to Meek,[30] appears to be associated with the sky and the moon. Individuals address more or less personal prayers to Gwaza on first seeing the new moon, though it is more usual for prayers to be directed towards the ancestral spirits as intermediaries.[30] It is believed that the majority of the spirits of the dead are content to remain in their abode "Lahira" (a Moslem term), but discontented and evil spirits may return to the world to trouble men. There is no general belief in reincarnation, though the dead are believed sometimes to be reborn, especially in the case of posthumous children of men who have met an untimely death.

According to Meek, the senior male of each household offers thanks for the yearly supply of food at harvest time with the first fruits at the graves of the ancestors. The services of the high priest (*magajin elenowum*) are not ordinarily required; it seems that he is concerned primarily with placating spirits of the lineage whose identity cannot be determined, and with those believed to be troubling not lineal but collateral descendants. Some original connection between the ancestor and head-hunting cults is suggested by the fact that the *elenowum* was custodian of skull trophies.

Also associated with the ancestral cult is the public cult of the *obwai* or "tutelary genius" (Hausa, *dodo*) who seems to represent generally the plurality of ancestral spirits and particularly the spirit of the ancestor of the clan or lineage. From the Katab, specifically, Meek was unable to get what he regards as a satisfactory account of the cult and the beliefs surrounding it, "which," he concludes, "is not surprising, as the . . . cult was found in many instances to [be] an importation from neighbouring tribes or to have been derived from the Aku clan, whose *obwai* takes precedence over all the others."[30]

The cult has the appearance of a male secret society and is used largely as a means of disciplining women and children; "if a theft is committed in the village the shrill voice of the *obwai* is heard." An *agwam obwai* presides over the cult in each lineage (village). The main festival introduces farming operations just before the first rains, and the whole community brings to the *obwai* hut[31] offerings of beer, beniseed, goats, chickens and porridge. The senior men pour the beer into the common pot in the *obwai* hut, leaving some for the women and younger people, who partake outside. The *agwam* then drinks a little from the pot and asks the *obwai* to grant them a successful farming season. A general feast follows, dancing begins, and the voice of the *obwai* is heard speaking from a place of concealment in the roof. There is another festival at harvest, and the voice is heard a month before, warning the people to make preparations and to "desist from idle disputes." The *obwai* actually appears, in the form of a masked dancer, only biennially.[32]

Rain-making rites also appear to be connected with the ancestors, each lineage having its rain-maker whose rites are associated above all with a particular

[30] God and sky (*choadsa*) both appear rather to be derived from *sa*, rain, however; see Ikulu religious beliefs, below, p. 86.

[30] Meek's criteria of coherence of belief are not stated; it seems not impossible that the language problem, or even an understandable reticence may have lain at the root of his difficulty in obtaining a complete account of Katab beliefs.

[31] The only round hut in the village, accommodating 30–40 people and provided with mud benches.

[32] What the term "obwai" actually means to Katab, initiated or uninitiated, is not clear. From Reynolds' account of it among Kaje, it seems that members of the cult understand the term to apply primarily to the hollowed-out "seed" (pod, or "gourd"?) of *Oncoba spinosa* used to produce the spirit-voice, though the uninitiated understand "obwai" to be the name of the spirit whose voice is heard. In view of the supposed western origins of the cult it appears significant that Edgar in his Gbari dictionary enters *obwa, obwu* as "*Cucurbita lagenaria:* a calabash, gourd." No embodiment of *obwai* appears among Kaje, but among Katab and Kagoro *obwai* may appear as a masked figure.

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361 known whether the Village-areas themselves are compact territorial units, or whether the component hamlets of the three areas named are, perhaps, interspersed. It may be that each of the four " wife-stealing " units is to be found exclusively in a single Village-area, and the fact that there is one more " wife-stealing " unit than there are Village-areas does not preclude this possibility (cf. Agbat Kokwak and Shokwa, among Katab).

621 The apparent breakdown of the Aswen sub-clan, Katab tribe, into two equal political units (Village-areas) has been mentioned already. One of these, called Taligan[50] by Administration, may represent the emergence of a self-conscious Ikulu community in the Katab tribal area, though it seems more likely that it is simply a new Minyam sub-clan, and that " Ikulu " of Katab are " more Katab " than ever.

Traditions of Origin: Affiliations: Cultural Details

173 Nothing is reported directly concerning indigenous traditions of origin. The earliest speculation on the subject appears to be summarized by Temple, that Ikulu (as also Kamantam; see below) are " off-sets " of Kadara. Meek quotes the Kadara chief of Ankuwa (Kachia District) to the effect that Kadara, Ikulu, Kaje, and Srubu " are of the same stock " (Ikulu were actually counted as Kaje in the Census of 1931); one report states that there are ties (nature not specified) between the Kadara village of Agunu (Kachia District) and Ikulu.[51] In any case these tribes have certainly influenced each other as close neighbours, and the Ikulu are said to have introduced mat-weaving—typically a Kadara craft—into the Katab area. A closer linguistic affinity between Ikulu and Kadara may also be implied by Meek's description of Ikulu as " a section of the Kadara tribe."

105 Culturally, Meek declares Ikulu to be in all respects a participant in the Katab culture-complex, [52] with the exception that a man does not contract affinal marriage with his father's widows,[53] and that in the case of secondary marriage divorce is possible.

Distinctive cultural traits noted by Meek are as follows: as among Katab, the child is delivered in the father's compound and the mother returns to her parental compound for an undisclosed period after one or two months. A girl's marriage—including the collection of marriage-payments—is arranged by her paternal grandfather or by her father's elder brother. Formerly, marriage was by capture, without the girl's consent, and payments were made afterwards. A common grave is used by members of a family: though contrasting with general Katab practice, common graves are used by both Kadara and Kurama (formerly). The high god is termed *Agwa pan*, which Meek translates " lord of the moon."[54] There is said to be an annual spring festival (concerning which no details are given) and at acha harvest farms and houses are sprinkled with porridge made of the new corn. There appears to be a *dodo* cult among Ikulu identical with the common Katab *obwai*.[55]

Ikulu, like most of their neighbours, were apparently head-hunters.

[50] At Kwiambana Ikulu, in the Chawai tribal area, there appear to be two exogamous units, Ambaro and Taligan, which name is patently the same as that of the Katab Village-area. It is not clear, however, whether the Taligan of Kwiambana brought their name from the Katab Village-area or whether both brought the name independently from Ikulu.

[51] None of the names of villages and units cited above corresponds with names listed by Smith among either Ajure or Adara (Kadara proper) of Kajuru District, to the north, to indicate ties in that direction.

[52] Including even the *oyam*, apparently: Meek notes that Ikulu do not intermarry with northern Kadara of Kajuru (perhaps Ajure is meant) because Kadara women are naked.

[53] Their disposition is not indicated, though senior and junior levirate marriages obtain, as among Katab.

[54] Cf. Kaje, etc., *Agwam*, chief, Kaje *fuan*, moon. Katab and various other members of the group seem to have a high regard for the moon, though the Katab high god appears to be primarily a rain god.

[55] A. D. Percival, writing in 1932, describes the Ikulu *dodos* and states that " their ritual and their tall houses have . . . been spread by purchase throughout Katab." He is the only

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Kamantan

According to Temple, "a large proportion of the Ikolu are blacksmiths," which would seem to differentiate them from Katab, who have by all accounts no smiths at all, and apparently also from Kadara, among whom smiths are not numerous. It will be recalled, however, that the chiefs of Kajuru appear to have had some special connection with the smiths of Kachichere.

KAMANTAN

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Available information relating to Kamantan (Kamantam) parallels closely the brief description given of Ikulu.

According to Meek, their name for themselves is Angan (sing. Zamangan): the origin and meaning of the name are not indicated.

The Zaria N.A. Census of 1948–9 returns 3,634 Kamantan for Zangon Katab District and the Province. The Resident of Zaria's list of Village-areas, undated, (*c.* 1948), shows the population of Padan (Fadan) Kamantan, the single predominantly Kamantan Village-area, to be 3,343."

The essential feature of Angan social organization, judging from Meek's notes, seems to be that "people who are related give their daughters in marriage more readily than they would give them to strangers; but cousins may not marry." Presumably "cousins" here refers to collateral relatives whose genealogical relationship is recognized, and the rule implies that the group of kinsmen whose relation to Ego can be traced genealogically constitute Ego's exogamous units. This system certainly differs radically from the normal Katab (but cf. Srubu, p. 63 above, where marriage rules appear to be comparable). Meek partially analyses the Kamantan tribe as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*	*Comments*
(1)	Kagal	2 related exogamous sections
	Ashin (Kaku)	2 non-related exogamous sections
(2)	Kaban	
	Kangun	
(3)	Agan [sic] (Fadan Kamantan)	Believed related
	Balil	
	Lena	
(4)	Yangan	
	Shokwan	

Only the first village named for each "wife-stealing" unit can be located on maps of the area. It would not be surprising if the various parts of Angan society were disparate, but more information is needed before further comment can be made.

The Kamantan tribe, comprising a single Village-area, is the only tribe of the Katab Group so far described which has, in effect, a tribal chief. The office is nowhere discussed, though Meek notes that the chief has a ritual sword (the origin of which is not stated).

observer to have described the Katab *obwai*-hut as "tall". (Meek notes that the hut is round in contrast to the usual style of building): in the Kadara area, on the other hand, many investigators have been struck by the unusual height of the "tsafi huts" and the extreme pitch of their conical thatched roofs. It has already been noted that the Katab *obwai* cult resembles in many respects the Kadara *dodo*-cult, and it seems possible that Ikulu, even if not a branch of Kadara, may have acted as a medium for the diffusion of the Kadara *dodo*-cult over the whole of the Katab area. Diffusion from the west seems, on the basis of the very scanty information available, more likely only because the *dodo*-cult is completely absent from a wide area of the High Plateau, whence Kagoro—who practise *obwai*—seem to have come, on the east. The chief of Ankuwa interviewed by Meek recognized the essential unity of the Kadara, Kaje, Srubu, and Ikulu *dodo*-cults.

" The difference is probably accounted for by inaccurate returns.

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Kagoro

769 survival after death."[91] It seems clear from Smith's account that the Kagoro *obwai* cult " does not command awe among initiated males " at the present time, but he leaves some doubt as to the effectiveness of the cult among the uninitiated, particularly the women, commenting only that it " has lost some of its functions."[92] Apart from spring memorial rites the ancestral cult appears to be associated with none of the rituals of the annual cycle—planting, harvesting, or hunting.[93]

The extent to which belief in the supernatural constitutes a basis for, or at least an element of, the aforementioned rituals of the annual cycle is by no means clear from Smith's accounts of them, already referred to.[94] Tremearne, too, fails to make the point clear in describing " harvest rites."

769 Of hunting rites Temple says only that ancestral spirits are consulted in the sacred grove. *Akanyam*, described by Smith as ritualized beer drinking by
224 members of a lineage at the lineage shrine (*sshwo*), appears to be associated primarily with hunting, but it is not clear whether this rite follows each hunt, or simply terminates the hunting (=dry) season. Neither is the religious, as contrasted with the social, basis of the rite entirely clear, though Smith calls it a " ritual of purification," and says that it marks the end of the period during which the hunter is in danger from his quarry's dead spirit.[95]

614 Judging from Meek's evidence, the *kwai* (clans) are totemic units, that is, respect particular animal species: he reports, however, that clans recognizing a common origin (that is, localized segments of a *bin*) sometimes do, and sometimes do not, recognize the same species as their emblem.

● 794 Smith gives an interesting account of the *imbhweh* cult, which during its brief career rivalled the *obwai* cult, and threatened to displace the budding chieftaincy
668 as a comprehensive institution, so that (in 1934) the Administration felt bound to outlaw it. In general outline *imbhweh* closely resembles *obwai;* it was essentially a male secret society with masked dancers and initiation, and it imposed a certain discipline on the community through floggings and ritualistic fines of goats and beer.
[731] According to Smith, the rise of *imbhweh* was incident to the disastrous locust invasion and subsequent famine of *c.* 1930, and to the activities of a new chief appointed about this time, a ruthless man, who converted the N.A. police into a
[661] personal instrument and had people whipped, fined, or imprisoned at will. *Imbhweh's* chief claim was to the control of locusts; accordingly the shrine and ritual of the cult was established in each village, under the headship of the *titu imbhweh*. Everyone was required to attend the nightly dances at the shrine, to
[786] bring beer, goats, chickens, and dogs as tribute. Women were ordered to sleep with nominees, and premarital licence, a thing foreign to Kagoro custom, was ordered. *Imbhweh* was also instrumental in punishing theft, which had increased during the period of locust infestation. According to Smith, the great mass of the people were caught between these two opposing forces struggling for power,

[91] How this accords with Smith's assertion that " in former days . . . ritual assistance . . . was sought from [their father and father's brother] either in their lifetime by small gifts of beer or after their death," is not clear, unless it be that a generation of successful mission activity has wrought changes in Kagoro religious belief.

[92] Smith implies that even the residual core of belief in *agwam obwai* as a kind of go-between from the living to the dead, described by Meek, has vanished.

[93] These spring memorial rites are described only imperfectly by Smith, but occur towards the end of the dry season. They begin with *obwai abeyan*, then comes *fon* which seems to be a kind of memorial service for the dead of the preceding year.

[94] Smith lumps together all planting and harvest rituals as *ci* (*chi*) rituals; each of several traditional staples has its own special rites. These rituals appear to define the village, and are presided over by the village *tienwhop*, always a member of an Ankwei clan. (Whether lesser rites are subsequently held by each clan is not clear: Smith never describes the exact functions of the *siewhop*, the clan-head in ritual matters.) Hunting rites are presided over by the *tenci* of each clan: within the village, the rites of the senior clan take precedence over those of all other clans.

[95] Tremearne's (and Temple's) statement that the spirit of a hunter's quarry may be reborn in his child is perhaps relevant here.

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imbhweh and the chief. In 1934, the chief was deposed in favour of another and ***imbhweh*** was suppressed, both by Administrative action, but apparently with the support of the people.

Missions

Smith indicates that during the troubled period of ***imbhweh*** mission converts suffered greatly from atrocities committed against them by both sides. But he judges that the Kagoro early responded favourably to the Protestant mission teaching and adopted many of the culture elements it introduced, such as schools, literacy in Hausa, innovations in building and in dress, and agricultural and medical amenities. The senior mission came in 1926. In recent years a second mission has entered the district and also a Southern Nigerian representative of an African Christian sect.

Islam does not appear to have made any progress among Kagoro.

Moroa (Asolio) and Ataka

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Traditions of Origin

Moroa Independent District lies in south-eastern Zaria Province, bounded by the easternmost extension of the Zangon Katab District of Zaria Emirate on the north, Kagoro Independent District on the west, the Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, on the south, and the Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province, on the east. It represents essentially an extension of the plains of Zangon Katab and Northern Kagoro, and the rugged heights of the central sector of Kagoro District. Its chief natural distinction is a thick belt of fan palms lying in the plains north of the Kafanchan-Jos railway, which virtually bisects the District. Tremearne described the area as being "open and very rich, most of the visible area being under cultivation at some time or another."

The N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned the following figures for the population of the District:

"Tribe"	
Moroa	5,726
Atakar	3,294
Katab	1,062
Hausa	286
Ibo	36
Fulani	22
Fallomi[98]	17
Tiv	7
Yoruba	5
	10,455

With the exception of the Fulani, who are probably predominantly pastoralists, the small "stranger" and "native foreigner" population is concentrated near the railway, mainly in the vicinity of Manchok station, engaged in trading.

The area of the District, according to the Census of 1931, is 143 square miles; density (1948), 73 per square mile. Since, however, a sizeable portion of Moroa, upon Kagoro Rock and in the kurmi to the south, is not arable, actual density of population must be rather more than the figure indicates.

Reynolds in 1950 reported 311 Asolio, in two villages or hamlets, along the northern border of Moroa District, in the Pari Village-area of Zangon Katab

[98] "Fallomi" or "Forlomi": Hausa corruption of Fort-Lamy; applied in Nigeria to immigrants from the Chad region of French Equatorial Africa.

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Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) [105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

Life Cycle

844 *Birth*

According to Temple, a new-born child and its mother are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day, the child is taken outside its mother's hut for the first time, and is named in the presence of the women of the compound; by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl. Elders assemble for the naming of twins, which is delayed until seven days after birth, and is the occasion of a ritual feast.[116]

Initiation

852 ●794 It has already been indicated that *obwai* (*abwai*) obtains among Kaje; in general initiation into the cult follows the pattern of Katab proper, but Reynolds' exhaustive account of Kaje practices (of which only a brief summary can be given here) reveals details which may clarify certain obscurities in the Katab record.

[346] According to Reynolds it is believed that Suryan (Baimbin tribal section) introduced the *dodo* (*abwai*) into the area, and it has spread to much of the tribe, essentially along the lines of lineage structure. Generally, each minor lineage has a *dodo* hut,[116] but this is dependent on the size of the group and relations between lineages; some may share the same hut. The lineage which first obtained the *dodo* is recognized as the senior group in cult matters of the area, and its *gado abwai* (Magajin dodo) is recognized as senior and may or may not perform the functions of *gado kapiyi* or *atiyinhwap*. Each *dodo* hut has its own *gado abwai*, [793] the post normally passing from father to brother or to eldest son, with three helpers, all with Hausa titles, selected by the *gado abwai*.

[534] The *abwai* is regarded as an invisible spirit, identified by initiates with the wind instrument which provides its "voice."[117] Other disembodied spirit-voices are also associated with the cult; *dodone* associated primarily not with initiation but with memorial rites for a deceased *gado abwai* will be described below.

Reynolds states that there are no special times for entering the cult, provided the "entrance fee"—said to be a number of fowls, a quantity of beer and a goat —is paid. Youths of the group who are old enough will normally enter at the same time, after harvest and before the first sowing. All who enter at the same time are of the same seniority and earlier entrants are, progressively, senior to them.

Initiation begins when the boys are assembled at night in the compound of the *gado abwai*, in a common sleeping hut, where they are told stories of the *abwai* to frighten them and its voice is heard outside. At dawn, when the voice of Riyam (the wife of *abwai*) is heard, they are taken by sponsors into the *dodo* hut. They are beaten, then *gado abwai* and older members gather in the hut; women and children remain outside at a safe distance.

The boys are shown the instrument which produces the voice of *abwai*, and are beaten to prompt them to reveal any knowledge of it which they may have and to betray their informant. At last they are grudgingly shown how to blow upon it and as each does so he is proclaimed a man. They are then shown a decapitated fowl, and are again beaten, and through skilful interrogation led to see that what they see is the body of a man and his severed head. The head of the fowl and some of its blood are placed in a calabash of beer, which is stirred with a knife. Then each youth, holding the knife in his right hand, takes the oath of secrecy. Finally he drinks the calabash of blood and beer. At the conclusion of the oath-taking Riyam "vomits" the initiated youths, and they are flung bodily out of the hut. They are then taken to the bush and, finally, bathe themselves

[116] Cf. Temple's account of Jaba ritual at birth, below, p. 118.

[116] From Reynolds' description it is round, not like the conventional dwelling hut, with a "piece of pottery covered with spikes" on the peak.

[117] It consists of a pod of *Oncoba spinosa*, with the seeds removed and two holes at either end. A white spider's web (or membranous white disc, under which the eggs are sealed for protection) is placed over one end and warmed until it is taut. Another "voice" is made from a piece of bamboo, 4–6 ins. long.

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and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil; and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father; he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's "capture": friends of the husband "abduct" her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] *Cf.* Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

has eaten his soul.[130] Victims of witchcraft are buried in a variety of ways, determined by age, sex, marital status, kinship status, etc. A person dying of an apparent disease is adjudged a witch and buried away from the compound, perhaps even in the bush, with no ceremony. A person dying from some accident, for example, one struck by lightning, is buried within the compound, as are the first category of dead described above, but without the ordinary rituals: exactly how Kaje explain this type of death is not clear from Reynolds' account.

The most elaborate burial ceremonies are those for the old, and little differentiation is made as to the sex of the deceased so long as he or she is survived by a numerous progeny. First, the *gado kapiyi* examines the body to determine the cause of death; then the *gado abwai* attends the body and the voice of the *abwai* is heard, whereupon the *gado abwai* " announces to the women that the old man has now become a *dodo*."[131] A vertical shaft is dug 3 or 4 ft. deep, and from this in both directions a tunnel to receive the body, head to the north, face to the west. The grave is sealed with a stone.

A feast is held directly by men of the lineage. Further celebrations with feasting and dancing are held before the next sowing, for all the dead of the lineage since the last sowing. The major lineage appears to be the unit for these celebrations.

At the end of the general celebrations, the patrilineal descendants of the deceased gather in his compound for five successive days for ritual feasting. After this the wives and mother of the dead man go into mourning for one month, when they cover themselves with red earth and abstain from bathing and shaving themselves. They will not let rain touch their bodies, nor will they go to the stream or cross it, even by a bridge. They eat rich food, but after dark, and take no part in the preparation of food. They do not speak to any male who does not belong to the compound and do not have sexual relations, for which reason they all sleep in one hut. They do not wear the *ndyig* (*?oyam*), but a girdle made of raphia, and always carry a hand-broom. At the end of a month the women are shaved(?), and for this occasion beer is made with corn brought by the married daughters of the classificatory daughters of the dead man at the time of the funeral ceremonies. The major lineage collects and drinks the beer and feasts ritually on beans.

The death of a civil head is kept secret for a month, when his successor is publicly announced. In the case of *gado kapiyi* and *aliyinhwap* bush hunting is a feature on the day of burial, and the deceased is interred in his skin loin-covering rather than in cloth garments. In the case of the *gado abwai*, the distinctive feature occurs only two or three years after burial, when an elaborate memorial service (*aswa*, or, popularly, *tswandik*) is held. The rituals appear to serve as the confirmation of formal investiture of the deceased *gado's* successor, for in fixing the date of the celebration, cult affairs from the death of the late *gado* are reviewed, and the state of the public morals with which the cult concerns itself. When the date has been set, fibre neck-cords (*tswandik*) prepared by the Madauchi are distributed among the wives of the community, after grain in the fields begins to form heads. The actual ceremonies do not take place, then, until the height of the dry season,

[130] The distinction observed here between a witch and a sorcerer is based on practice; the sorcerer uses " medicines " and rites; the witch may be entirely ignorant of his own supposed activities, engaging in witchcraft while asleep, in a trance, etc. Kaje appear to feel no particular animus towards witches in general, nor even towards suspected specific witches while they are alive; but note supernatural sanction against witchcraft, and the treatment of supposed witches after death.

[131] It cannot be recalled too often that the concept of the " dodo " needs more careful investigation throughout this area than it has yet had. Two definitions are current among Europeans: more usually the " dodo " is regarded simply as " a spirit "; a more subtle view, perhaps, holds that it represents the collective embodiment of the community's dead. The latter definition is convincing in certain contexts, but the existence of a number of " dodone " in a single group suggests that the former may also have a degree of validity, and that the two definitions should be mediated, as it were, or new and more precise terms from the vernacular adopted.

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when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniet*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *iswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *iswandik* is fastened.[122]

769 794 [291] [786]

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture.

789

When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground.

241

Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[123]

681 783

Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still.

681 695

[122] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[123] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.

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794 As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at " the Magajin dodo's house " (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, " a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

825 According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the " Madaki's ward " of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, " We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the " juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be " initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

797 No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

131 The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe " inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

162 The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 361 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), 103 Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

161 Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is 133 available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

173 Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti " say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaninkon.